[39]

# CHAPTER 4

## THE FAMILY

361 As a basic unit of the Lolo clan, the family is the most closely related kin group. In a clan village, the number of families varies from about 10 to 50, each occupying a dwelling. The houses are scattered on a level plain or slope; together they constitute a village community.

594 The members of a family include husband, wife, and all unmarried children. After the children grow up and marry, they form a new family unit and live in a separate house. So the Lolo observe what is commonly called the small family system. As the household slaves (wa-tzu) are not included in the 567 kin group, there is also a master-slave relationship within each ●592 household. The Lolo consider slaves as chattels; nevertheless the slaves are human beings, not immovables, and their behavior is related to group life. In Chapter 7, "Classes," the position of the slaves will be discussed in detail. It suffices to treat here the relationship between master and slaves within the household.

342 The behavior of family members and their interrela-
351 tionships are based on material aspects. First, we shall describe their dwelling, which is the center of family life. The construction of a Lolo house is adapted to the natural environ-
[132] ment. Because of strong winds and heavy snow around Taliang Shan, all the houses are small and low, encircled by a square wall with one or two doors in the front or in left and right walls. For instance, Li-ch'ü Yo-ha's house in Pa-p'u village has only a wooden gate on the front half of the right wall, just a short distance from the corner of the fortified front wall. When we entered the door of Yo-ha's house, we
[343] first saw an open level court; on its left or on the opposite side of the main gate was a fenced-in wooden enclosure, inhabited by fowls and cattle. At the front of the animal pen was tied a ferocious Pekingese dog, which barked madly at strangers and would probably have bitten them too if it had not been fas-
231 tened to an iron chain. The households of Liang Shan had at least one dog each for protection against enemies. Every time our inspection team passed a village, the dogs would chase and bark at us. Fortunately our Lolo headmen-protectors

241 not common and only wealthy families can afford to keep a
233 herd of cattle or sheep. The general belief that the Lolo are a nomadic tribe is erroneous.

567 Agriculture and grazing will be discussed more fully in Chapter 6, "Economic Life." Here mention will be made only of family labor connected with these occupations. In a
[356] Lolo family, all housework is done by slaves under the supervision of the black Lolo master. Every black Lolo family has several household slaves called kuo-chuang wa-tzu [lit., "stove slaves"], who are white Lolo or Han-Chinese. These slaves
[592] live in the master's house, do housework for him, and are indebted to him for all their food and clothing. They own no property, but are themselves considered a part of their master's property. He can sell them whenever he pleases. The white Lolo who are not household slaves have their own dwelling places, land, cattle, and other property. Sometimes they also have Han-Chinese as slaves to work for them. On the other hand, they have to take orders from their black Lolo masters and perform duties for them. The white Lolo are never completely freed from the slave status.

512 In a Lolo household, both master and slaves rise early
[515] in the morning. They wipe their eyes clean with their hands, but do not wash their faces. The male slaves who tend cattle and sheep lead them up the mountain to graze, while those who farm take their tools to the field to plow or weed. Farming
[241 is a joint effort of husband and wife, who often work together
462] shoulder to shoulder in the field. In sowing, plowing, or harvesting, [43] men and women both participate. The herders usually take corn cakes made the night before to eat on the mountain. The farm workers generally return to the house for breakfast at about 10 o'clock, after which they do not go out to work again. Sometimes they stay home in the morning and go
241 to the field after breakfast. The Lolo do not engage in intensive farming. Though uncultivated lands lie everywhere in Liang Shan, the Lolo are not interested in developing them for cultivation. They are satisfied with having just enough food for family consumption.

[264] They have two meals, one in the morning and the other
252 in the evening, but no regular mealtime. The preparation of food is the duty of female household slaves. Dried corn or buckwheat, doled out to them from storage by the mistress of the house, is first ground into flour on the grindstone. After the stove is lighted, the flour is poured into an iron caldron, mixed with water and boiled, and then taken out and put into a round, flat-bottomed basket. The dough is kneaded into round

836 marriage. Therefore illicit love between cross-cousins is not
605 prohibited by society. As to the selection of mates, marriage procedure, the wedding ceremony, and other like subjects, these will be discussed in the next chapter.

591 When a woman marries, she goes to stay with her husband. They have a small family of their own, living sepa-
592 rately from the husband's parents and managing their own independent economic life. Upon the birth of a child, they themselves begin to assume parental responsibility.

The birthday of a Lolo man is not taken very seriously
527 until he reaches the age of forty. After forty, every birthday
574 is celebrated with a feast for which cattle is killed and prepared for food. Relatives and friends come to congratulate
[431] him with gifts of wine and sweets, while his son-in-law, sister's son, and others present cloth or cotton goods. The guests are entertained with food and wine by the host during a most enjoyable evening for the family.

764 Death and burial has many complicated forms of cere-
182 mony, most of them related to religion and magic. The bur-
[614] ial ceremony is the occasion for the largest clan gathering and has a great influence on Lolo social life. As death and burial are painful to those who survive, the blood kin of the deceased seem to forget how to act and behave themselves after much crying and wailing; so the neighbors and relatives come to offer their condolences and sympathy, while the formality of the ceremony helps the blood kin to overcome their psychological block and to return gradually to normal life. In the course of time, the burial ceremony becomes conventionalized and its prescribed forms are followed generation after generation. For this reason, it performs the important function of achieving social solidarity and the stabilization of human psychology. Several years ago when an old Lolo of the En-cha branch died, thousands of mourners came from all over Liang Shan to pay tribute, and the event aroused a great deal of excitement. This represents an abnormal aspect of Lolo life and helps to establish equilibrium and make adjustments in their social system. It also shows the close interrelationship between the family and clan kin as well as larger social groups.

½ [Errata. Should be crisis — analyst.]

585 On the fourth day the bride returns to her parents' house with the groom. They do not talk to each other on the way. Upon arrival, the new son-in-law greets his parents-in-law with offerings of sheep, pigs, and wine and is in turn entertained with wine by them. The same afternoon he returns 591 home without the bride, who remains in her parents' home. This custom is called tso-chia, meaning "staying home."

The tso-chia period varies from one or two years to three or five. During this inspection trip [58], the author frequently met brides who had been staying home with their parents. While there, she can enjoy a loose romantic life without [837] being interfered with by father or elder brothers who pretend to pay no attention to her. During her stay with her parents, she wears the same dress as the bride. Day and night she chases and plays around with the young men of the neighborhood or her male cross cousins. She, too, enjoys sexual freedom.

During the same period the groom can also contact the bride and make love. It is only when the bride becomes preg- 843 nant that the groom takes her to his father's house. The first 848 child usually is not the child of the groom, but he has to recognize it as his child.

● 592 Having learned that his bride is pregnant, the groom immediately sets out to build a new house for the bride to live in as no married son can stay in the same house with his par- [583] ents. After the husband and wife have formally lived together, the wife's father's family then sends the entire dowry to them. [428] Among the Lolo, both male and female have the right of inheritance; therefore, the daughter's dowry is also a part of the property given her by her parents. It includes silver, slaves, food, oxen, sheep, and even land.

594 Because of this marriage relationship, the Lolo newly- 583 weds have the economic basis to establish a family. The house built for them by the parents of the man's family and the dowry sent by the girl's family all provide the economic conditions necessary for establishing a family. After that, the couple live a normal family life, both male and female cooperating in efforts for economic improvement. They bear and rear children to shoulder the common parental responsibility.

593 Although a Lolo wife is obtained through money pay- 562 ment and her marriage is one form of bartered marriage, she has the same position in the family as the man. Since they have a small family and do not live with the husband's parents, there is no problem of conflict between mother-in-law and

1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

[60] CHAPTER 6

## ECONOMIC LIFE

592 The family constitutes the main unit of Lolo daily economic life and the family economy is built on the basis of marriage relationship. Young unmarried members of the family who have to depend upon their parents for support are not independent economically. At the time of marriage, the groom's 581 parents provide house and land while the bride's parents provide the dowry and other property to give the newlyweds a material basis on which to build their own family. Therefore marriage is also a part of the economic structure, by which society helps the young couple to establish the basic economic conditions and encourages cooperative efforts by the husband and wife in managing the family's economic life.

000 Generally speaking, economic organization can be divided into three stages, namely, production, distribution, and consumption. This kind of classification, however, is not applicable to a primitive society whose economic problems are quite different from ours. Lolo material culture, which has passed the hunting and fishing stage, is no longer in the simplest and most primitive form; nevertheless, their agricultural and cattle-breeding economy does not lend itself easily to categorical analysis. For example, a typical Lolo family owns some arable land, on which cultivated corn, buckwheat, and other grains,which the family uses to make cakes and dried food for its own consumption. In such case, the boundary between production and consumption is very difficult to delimit. To take another example: except for the entertainment of guests on special occasions, the festival to send off the Buddha [see p. 116 ] provides one of the rare opportunities for the Lolo to distribute meat to their family members. But this occasion for meat distribution is closely related to religion and magic, and no borderline can be drawn to define the respective activities. Therefore from the sociological point of view, there is only one overall economic process, whose two aspects are the seizure of material products and their utilization. Economic function, which actually has much sociological significance, is not limited to the production and consumption of wealth. To understand the economic structure of the